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The Status of Russian German in Siberia. A Case Study of Four Women Living in the Region of Krasnoyarsk (Russia)

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Abstract
This paper introduces the difficult relation between language, ethnicity and individual identity of the German population living in Siberia today. In 2010, we interviewed four women born in the former German Volga Republic but now living in a village in Siberia. Their German language and identity were strongly stigmatized as a result of the Second World War. Today they primarily speak Russian in their everyday communication. Nevertheless, the women's ethnic identity is still very strong, - they call themselves "daitsch" (Germans). In the linguistic analysis, which can be seen as pioneer work for German in Siberia, we identified a large proportion of language contact phenomena such as code switching to Russian and contact-induced structural changes in this spoken German variety. The paper focuses on the essential role of the "mother tongue" that seems to elicit ethnic identity.

Key words: German immigration to Russia; language and ethnic identity; code switching; Russian and German in contact

1. Introduction

The study of language contact in Siberia is — in spite of several research activities on German dialects in Russia in the second half of the 20th century — still a new branch of investigation. There are several reasons for this: One is the extraordinary socio-cultural background of the more than two-hundred-years-old history of German immigration to Russia. The other reason is to be found in language research itself. Because of the immense political and economical changes, especially since the last part of the 20th century, the situation of the former German language islands has changed radically. The dissolution of the linguistic communities resulted in heterogeneous communication groups, where the language of the environment becomes the matrix language. The language of the environment has a strong influence in the language island varieties, which again leads to lexical and structural changes of the minority languages. This is, of course, extremely interesting for comparative linguistics and language contact. If traditional language island research moves nearer to

contact linguistics, like bilingualism or multilingualism under the circumstances of migration, this can open new theoretical research on language structures in contrast and further in language typology.

2. The study of language islands

Sprachinselforschung (language island research) has been an important research field in dialectology. In particular, the research on German language islands in Eastern Europe was a kind of methodological test field in German dialectology. It is a matter of interdisciplinary studies with historical and ethnological approaches about language islands in the regions of the German colonization in Eastern Europe. Studies on language islands were mostly motivated by the interest in reconstructing language shifts. The most obvious outcome of this research was the presentation of linguistic data in geographical maps.

The term *Sprachinsel* (language island) was used for the first time in 1847 to designate a Slavonic community surrounded by a German speaking population close to Königsberg in East Prussia (today: Kaliningrad, the Russian exclave between Poland and Lithuania on the Baltic Sea).[1] However, researchers have somewhat different opinions about what language islands are. Generally, we could say that a language island is a limited settlement area of a linguistic minority, which is completely surrounded by another language of a linguistic majority.[2]

The intensive research on German language islands in Russia is based on the methods of the German Marburg School.[3] Starting in the Soviet Union in the 1920s, it has been a lively research field in German departments from Petersburg in the West to Alma-Ata in the East of Russia. The main purpose has been the reconstruction of different dialects and a comparison with the original dialects in Germany. The background for these long traditions in dialect geography was one specific historical development, which started with the immigration of German farmers to the Volga region invited by Catherine II. in 1763.

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[1] Cf. Klaus J. Mattheier: 'Methoden der Sprachinselforschung'. In: Hans Goebl, Peter H. Nelde, Zdenek Stary, Wolfgang Wölck (eds.): *Contact Linguistics. An International Handbook of Contemporary Research,* Vol. 1. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996, p. 812-819, p. 812.

[2] Cf. Claus J. Hutterer: 'Sprachinselforschung als Prüfstand für dialektologische Arbeitsprinzipien'. In: Werner Besch, Ulrich Knoop, Wolfgang Putschke, Herbert E. Wiegand (eds.): *Dialektologie. Ein Handbuch zur deutschen und allgemeinen Dialektforschung*, Vol. 2. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1982, p. 178–189, p. 178.

[3] See the linguistic map of Georg Wenker: *Sprach-Atlas von Nord- und Mitteldeutschland*. Auf Grund von systematisch mit Hülfe der Volksschullehrer gesammeltem Material aus ca. 30 000 Orten. 1st delivery. Straßburg: Trübner, 1881.

Table 1: Map of Russia,[4] Saratov at the river Volga and Krasnoyarsk in East Siberia

Formed in 1924, the Volga republic was already dissolved in 1941 because of the Nazi German invasion of the USSR. The entire German population was deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan. The Volga Germans lost their citizenship and did not regain their civil rights until after Stalin's death in 1953. Most of Russia's ethnic Germans immigrated to Germany after the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Today, the German language islands in Russia are, without exception, exposed to intensive language contact. Most of them are considered to be contracting – if not dying – varieties with respect to the change of their lexical and morphosyntactic systems. For some time now, language contact to Russian has greatly increased.

However, in the last few decades the study of language islands has gained potential for innovation from two new research approaches in this field regarding language contact. Researchers have focused increasingly on morphosyntactic destruction processes in German language islands with different contact languages in the USA, Brazil and Russia.[5] Rosenberg and his research group described the regular and irregular development of case morphology

[4] Cf. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Maps_of_Russia.

[5] See Huffiness and Keel in: Marion Huffines: Directionality of Language Influence: The Case of Pennsylvania German and English. In: Nina Berend, Klaus Mattheier (eds.): *Sprachinselforschung. Eine Gedenkschrift für Hugo Jedig*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994, p. 47-58; and William Keel: Reduction and Loss of Case Marking in the Noun Phrase in German-American Speech Islands: Internal Development or External Interference? In: Berend, *Sprachinselforschung*, p. 93-104.

of German varieties in Russian Siberia and Brazil.[6] So far, they have shown in a systematic longitudinal study that the morphosyntactic destruction processes in Russia as well as in Brazil are quicker and more irregular compared to similar processes in the home country. The susceptibility to change and the patterns of change seem to be structured by systematic and typological constraints, which probably turn out to be cognitive processes underlying linguistic change. This change Rosenberg discusses as a subsequent process of "regularizatio"[7] of irregular forms, simplification of rules and loss of grammatical distinctions and their compensations. Rosenberg's approach is a valuable research basis for our investigation.

3. The corpus

Our corpus data consist of audio recordings (monologue data of different speakers from the Krasnoyarsk region between 1988-1998, recordings of about 100h length, collected by Valentina Djatlova (Astafyev University) and video recordings from the Krasnoyarsk region of 2010 (dialogue data from four female speakers, recordings of about 3h length, collected by the author). At present only a small part of the recordings has been transcribed. The transcription and systematic annotation of the two linguistic corpora is a part of the research project "Syntax in Contact. Word Order in a Variety of German Spoken in East Siberia" at the University of Gothenburg in collaboration with the Astafyev University in Krasnoyarsk (Russia).[8]

3.1 Cultural background of the language contact situation

In June 2010, researchers from Gothenburg visited the Pedagogical Russian State University V.P. Astafyev in the city of Krasnoyarsk. With the friendly help of my Russian colleague Valentina Djatlova we undertook field work to collect raw data in two villages in the

[6] Cf. Peter Rosenberg: 'Comparative speech island research: Some results from studies in Russia and Brazil'. In: William Keel, Klaus J. Mattheier (eds.): *German Language Varieties Worldwide: Internal and External Perspectives*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 2003, p. 199-238.

[7] Cf. Peter Rosenberg: 'Dialect convergence in German language islands (Sprachinseln)'. In: Peter Auer; Frans Hinskens; Paul Kerswill (eds.): *Dialect change. Convergence and divergence in European languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 221-235.

[8] In collaboration with the Centre of Language Technology, University of Gothenburg, two corpora (*Siberian German* and *Siberian German women*, 504100 tokens) are available at *Korp*, the concordance search tool of *Språkbanken* (The Swedish Language Bank): http://spraakbanken.gu.se/korplabb/?mode=siberian_german#?lang=en&cqp=%5B%5D (accessed October 28, 2015). See also *Syntax im Sprachkontakt. Gesprochenes Deutsch im Gebiet Krasnojarsk (Sibirien)*: http://sprak.gu.se/kontakta-oss/larare/andersen-christiane/syntax-in-contact (accessed October 28, 2015).

surroundings of Krasnoyarsk.[9] We interviewed four women with a German background still living in villages near Krasnoyarsk, the administrative centre of Krasnoyarsk Krai, Russia, located on the Yenisei river (see table 1).

All of our four respondents were born in the Volga Republic but deported together with their families to Siberia in 1941. Their deportation took place under hasty and very cruel circumstances. The young girls at the age of five and eight were interned in labour camps together with their mothers. Their fathers were separated from their families, and a lot of them did not survive the hard living conditions during the war. After the Second World War the families settled in several villages in the Krasnoyarsk region. At this time German was spoken only in the closest family surrounding. The two older girls attended a German speaking primary school in the Volga Republic for a few years; the younger girls got a basic education in a Russian school. After the Second World War, the lives of our respondents continued in an agricultural environment. They say about themselves that they can read and write German but have had not enough practice, especially concerning their writing abilities. The women showed us their Lutheran bibles, and we listened to their oral reading performances. Although the goal of our research is not a sociolinguistic one, the cultural background and personal history of our respondents do have an effect on our research, not least on the compilation of the linguistic corpus. The communication between respondents and researchers was not always easy. Some of the questions we had prepared were not understood. However, our conversation was most effective and detailed when discussing family, childhood and their personal history in the Soviet Union and their actual life in Siberia.

3.2 German dialects in Siberia

When the Germans immigrated to Russia 200 years ago, they took their dialects with them: speaking the northern Bavarian dialect in the Altai region, the *Oberhessisch* dialect in Siberia (also called *Platt,* located in Germany near Limburg an der Lahn, Bad Vilbel and Taunusstein), the Swabian dialect in Kazakhstan and Tadzhikistan, the Low German dialects in Ural, West Siberia, in the Altai region, Kazakhstan and Kirgizistan and in the region of Omsk and Novosibirsk, further the Volhynian dialect in West Siberia and Kazakhstan and several German mixed dialects in Ural and Siberia.[10] The term *Wolgadeutsche* (Volga

[9] The research visit was financed by the Swedish Institute (Stockholm) and Astafyev University, Krasnoyarsk.
[10] Cf. Hugo H. Jedig: 'Die deutschen Mundarten in der Sowjetunion'. In: Nina Berend, Klaus J. Matteier (eds.): *Sprachinselforschung. Eine Gedenkschrift für Hugo Jedig*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1994, p. 11-17, p. 14-15.

Germans) that characterised ethnic Germans in Russia after their first settlements on the river Volga is now often replaced with *Russlanddeutsche* (Russian Germans).[11] We can say that the presence of several German dialects is a typical property of the German language spoken in Siberia. The speakers of this language are not aware of Standard German, and spoken Russian has strongly left its marks in the language use of Russian German speakers. The problem of dialect mixing and the formation of German language varieties is still an important topic in linguistic research, especially at German departments at Siberian Universities.[12]

[11] Cf. Dieter Stellmacher, Valentina Djatlova: 'Minderheitensprache im Wörterbuch. Das Projekt Russlanddeutsches Wörterbuch'. In: Elisabeth Knipf-Komlósi, Claudia Maria Riehl (eds.): *Kontaktvarietäten des Deutschen. Synchron und diachron*. Wien: Praesens Verlag, 2012, p. 75-87, p. 80-81.
[12] Čerkazyanova gives a commentated bibliography of Russian theses on German dialects in I.V. Čerkazyanova: *Letopis' dissertatsiy po istorii i kul'ture rossiyskikh nemtsev* (1960-e – 2009gg.). St. Peterburg: Nestor-Istoriya, 2009.

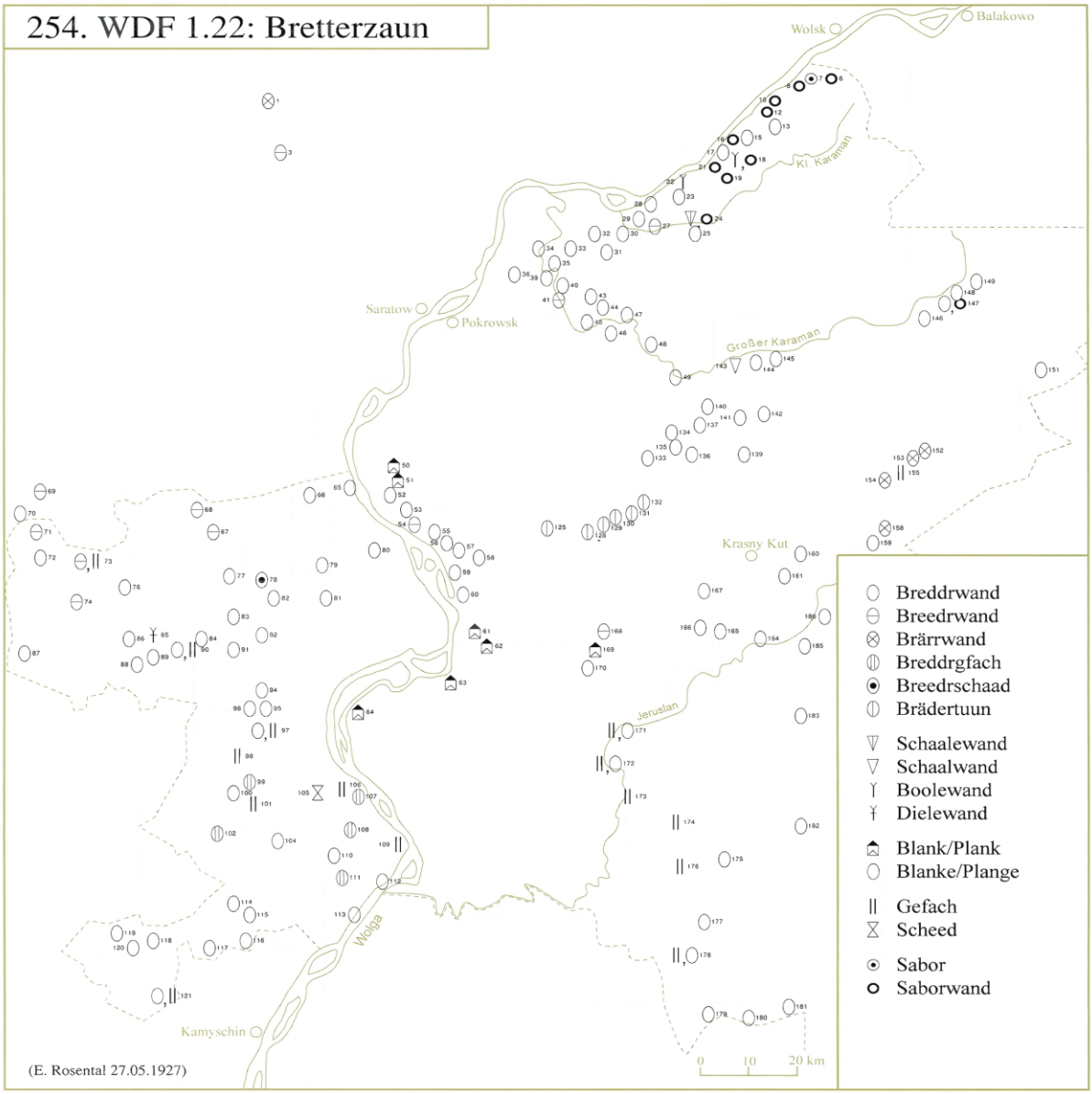

Table 2: Word map of the Volga Republic: *Bretterzaun* (timber fence) (1927)

If we have a look at the Volga German language map with data from the year 1927, we notice that the process of dialect mixing was already in full swing at that time.[13] The standard lexeme *Bretterzaun* (timber face) existed in 16 variants but included the Russian loan word *Sabor* and the mixed lexeme *Saborwand*.

All of our four female speakers in the region of Krasnoyarsk speak a variety that can be characterized as a variety of German dialect mixture and German-Russian code switching on different linguistic levels.

[13] Cf. *Wolgadeutscher Sprachatlas* (WDSA) aufgrund der von Georg Dinges 1925-1929 gesammelten Materialien bearbeitet. Nina Berend, Rudolf Post (eds.). Tübingen, Basel: Francke Verlag, 1997, p. 22-306.

If my Russian colleagues ask their respondents what kind of language they speak, they mostly answer differently, like *schwäbisch* or *wolhynisch*, also *wolgadaitsch*, *platt* or *lutherisch*. Our four respondents said simply *daitsch* (German). They also say *daitsch* when they describe their ethnic identity.

3.3 The language proficiency of the four speakers

The four women in the present case do not have full proficiency in either of the participating languages. The women learned German as their first language in the German villages in the Volga Republic, which they used in the family context. They say that this spoken German variety is their mother tongue. The women's first language competence has become a strong individual feature of their psychological and cultural identity, as we could observe in our interviews (Krasnoyarsk corpus, 2010).[14]

> Da is mit keinem, wo ich sprechen kann mit meine sprache, aber ich tu meine sprache
> There is with nobody, where I speak can with my language, but I do my language
>
> nich – nie k- <schluchzt> das is meine vater und muttersprache.
> not – never k- <sobbing> this is my father and mother language.

Our respondents attended the first years in a German speaking elementary school in their villages, where they learned to read and write in German. They used German textbooks with a didactic concept of teaching German in a vernacular environment.[15] This means that the children of the Volga Germans learned written German at school, but the strength of writing and reading skills differed in each village and region. Nevertheless, the spoken German dialect is the only means of communication in the lives of the women until the deportation of the families to Siberia in 1941. At this time our speakers were girls at the age of four and 14 years and they did not speak Russian when they had to leave their villages at the Volga. German language and identity were strongly stigmatized as the result of the Second World War. The women could not speak their mother tongue outside the nearest family context. Some of them changed (or had to change) their German names on order to hide their German

[14] Cf. Andersen, Christiane and Markus Forsberg. 2012. *Sibirientyska*. Siberian German. Online access at: http://spraakbanken.gu.se/korplabb/?mode=siberian_german#/lang=sv (accessed October 28, 2015).
[15] See Alfred Ström: *Deutschunterricht in mundartlicher Umgebung. Ein Handbuch für Dorfschullehrer und Studierende*. Charkov, 1928. Quoted from Nina Berend: *Sprachliche Anpassung. Eine soziolinguistisch-dialektologische Untersuchung zum Rußlanddeutschen*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1998, p. 13.

identity. Instead of their German dialect, spoken local Russian was replaced in their everyday communication. They learned the Russian written standard more or less sporadically depending on their age and different working conditions.

After Stalin's death in 1953 the situation of Germans in Russia was improving. They could choose their places of living individually but they could not come back to their old settlement areas in the Volga region. From the linguistic point of view, the migration had some stabilizing consequences. A lot of the deported Germans have chosen their homes according to their dialects: Swabians moved to Swabians, Bavarians to Bavarians etc. Nevertheless, the linguistic situation did not match the language island conditions of the pre-war time.[16] Only two of the four speakers live in the same village. One speaker lives in the city of Krasnoyarsk and one in a different village. Two of them are married to a Russian man, and Russian has become their everyday language. The children of our speakers do not speak German. Russian plays the most important role in the vernacular communication communities, specifically the spoken Russian of the village community.

In summary, it can be said that there is one crucial factor of language proficiency in our research case – this is the spoken language approach. Our speakers almost exclusively use German and Russian in spoken communication. If we now want to investigate their language proficiency we have to compare it with spoken Standard German, provided that we have a codification of a spoken German grammar. In general, there is no awareness of the written Standard, neither in German nor in Russian.[17] Currently, a complete spoken language grammar in German does not exist yet. The standard German grammar is still derived from the written standard. This is important to keep in mind when dealing with the linguistic approach to the corpus.

As we know, utterances in spoken language are often not complete grammatical sentences – they can be sentence fragments without a finite verb, they contain lexical and structural instances of repetition, breaks, or self-corrections etc. Moreover, in the German variety corpus, contact phenomena such as code switching are typical features of spoken discourse, therefore we shall have to reckon with phenomena of spoken language grammar and contact grammar as well. In a pilot study using the Krasnoyarsk corpus we could find preliminary unique bi-linguistic data.[18]

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[16] See more detailed in Berend, *Sprachliche Anpassung*, p. 15-20.
[17] Cf. Berend, *Sprachliche Anpassung*, p. 24-25.
[18] Russian words and all verb forms are annotated (FINIT or INFINIT). See corpus *Sibirientyska* (Siberian German): http://spraakbanken.gu.se/korplabb/?mode=siberian_german#/lang=sv (accessed October 28. 2015).

4. The code switching case – four women living in the region of Krasnoyarsk

If we now take account of these special circumstances of language proficiency in our case study, it turns out that we have to choose an adapted approach to the investigation. Neither the dialectological perspective nor the language island approaches seem to fit the real character of our research question. Our essential aim is to show what happens to the syntactic structure of German when Russian German bilingual speakers bring the two languages in contact (see table 3). We aim to describe word order phenomena that behave regularly as well as irregularly in relation to German contemporary syntax. The syntactic aspects in the German variety in contact with Russian are of main interest. We want to investigate how certain aspects of grammatical patterns may appear differently in this German variety because of the specific language contact situation to Russian and in contrast to the basic German word order. It is striking that the influence of Russian as a contact language has not been considered explicitly in earlier research. Indeed, the influence of the contact language is mostly assumed but seldom considered as a part of the linguistic analysis. Data on constituents of Russian origin are missing in most of the existing Russian German corpora.

Table 3: The code switching case of Emma German and Maria Kadotchnikova – two women living in the village Krasnyj Paxar, Krasnoyarsk region (day of documentation: 2010-06-06)

However, the most visible feature of language in contact is of course code switching. The term is certainly not used consistently in the literature on language contact. However, we will rely on Myers-Scotton (1995) – hence code switching is “the selection by bilinguals or

multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation."[19] Further, code switching is not only the product of a bilingual utterance but also the process – "the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages."[20] It should be mentioned here that research on language contact phenomena is still a young but growing field of investigation. Contact linguistics is a kind of umbrella term for research associated not only with classical code switching but also with code-mixing, lexical and structural borrowing and language shift, particularly from a sociolinguistic perspective.[21]

We presuppose for our research question that certain syntactic phenomena are possible for certain language pairs, i.e. the spoken German variety in Siberia is constrained by spoken Russian.[22]

Speaking a language also means acquiring knowledge about permissible sequences of constituents. Given the more distant genetic relationship between German (Germanic) and Russian (Slavic), it is not surprising that the basic principles of word order have evolved differently in the two languages. However, the proposed investigation does not have the aim of contrasting German and Russian syntactic phenomena. Rather, we aim to establish syntactic patterns and constraints of this current spoken German variety that are regularly used in a Russian-dominated environment. Here, we use previous approaches to spoken language grammar.[23]

4.1 Discourse markers

First of all, we notice strikingly many Russian discourse markers in the Krasnoyarsk corpus. The untrained discourse listener easily gets the impression that the discourse runs in Russian. In the following dialogue turn (1) the Russian discourse markers mostly start and/or finish a discourse sequence:

[19] Carol Myers-Scotton: *Social Motivation for Codeswitching. Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, p.4.
[20] Barbara E. Bullock, Almeida Jacqueline Toribio (eds.): *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching*. Cambridge: University Press, 2009, p.1.
[21] Cf. in: Peter Auer, Li Wei (eds.): *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007.
[22] Jeff Mac Swan: 'Generative approaches to code-switching'. In: Bullock, *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching*, p. 325.
[23] Cf. Elinor Ochs, Emanuel A. Schegloff, Sandra A. Thompson: *Interaction and Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

(1) hier haben se eine zeit lang alle deutsche zusammengenomme. *da*?
Here have they a time long all Germans together take. *Da*? (yes, conversation particle)

nu, war ich auch dort. un da waren kein, die was singen auf deutsch konnten.
nu (*well*, conversation particle) was I too there. And there were nobody, who something sing in German could.

wie sich's gehört. ja? *nu vot* – <stammelt, gestikuliert>
´as is right and proper`(idiom). Yes? *Nu vot* (there you are!) <stammers, gesticulates>

The speaker tries to remember and reformulate yet always gets back to the Russian conversational frame. Especially the Russian *nu* (now) seems to be very frequent at the first check of the Krasnoyarsk corpus. The next surprising data we discovered was the frequent use of the corresponding German *nun* (now), but - as it seems - in the same discourse position as the Russian correspondence. The particle *nun* is followed by the grammatical subject (*mir*) and object (*alles*) as in (2):

(2) *Nun* mir alles habe ufgeladen gehabt.
Well we all have packed had.

However, this usage of *nun* is possible in several German spoken varieties, but it is not Standard German such as is the case in the following sentences (3). Observe here the word order. The finite verb and the grammatical subject follow the particle *nun*.

(3) *Nun* haben wir alles aufgeladen.
Well have we all packed.

These preliminary observations show that language contact phenomena are not only related to the language pair, but they are also related to each other. Here we can see that the frequent usage of Russian discourse markers seems to have an influence on word order.

4.2 Compromise strategies

It is quite striking how Russian content morphemes such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs are often integrated into the German variety discourse, but the integration is not an easy one as is shown in the next example (4).

(4) *njet* (-) in *vinotsinsk, in vinotsinske* (-) <schüttelt mit dem Kopf> in (-) am *sever.*
Njet (*no*, adv.) in *vinotsinsk* (sg.- nom., geogr. name), in *vinotsinske* (sg.- locative, geogr. name) <shakes her head> in (-) at (+ det.) *sever* (*the north*, sg.- nom. – masc.)

njet a ja gavaryu von dort, wie wir dort waren in dem *i vinotsinsk, nje*
njet a ja gavaryu (no but I say) from there, how we there in this *i* (and) *vinotsinsk (*sg.-nom.-mask.*,* geogr. name), *nje* (no)

vinotsinsk in dem *kakzhe* eë na wo die großmutter war auch *nigolina*
vinotsinsk (sg.-nom.-masc., geogr. name) in this *kakzhe eë* (how is this?) well where the grandma was too *nigolina* (sg.-nom.-fem., geogr. name)

In Standard German the speaker would use names of Russian places such as *Vinozinsk* without a case suffix. It is interesting here that the speaker is trying different case forms. She is struggling to find the most convenient form. First, she uses the name of the city in a prepositional phrase *in vinotzinsk* that is the Standard German form. Then she repeats the phrase with the same preposition but with the Russian inflected form – *in vinotsinske.* In Standard Russian it would be *vo vinotsinske* (*in* + locative*).* However, the speaker does not use the Russian preposition but the German *in* and tries to combine it with the appropriate Russian case suffix. Further, she is trying again to find an appropriate form. She starts in the matrix language of the discourse – *in dem*, stops and tries – *in dem i vinotsinsk, nje vinotsinsk in dem kakzhe eë.* Here, we find a classical code switching case. Looking for the name of a place the speaker leaves the discourse topic and switches to Russian.
The grammatical suffix *-e* seems to play an important role in different codemixing strategies of our speakers. It is, as we know, a case morpheme in Russian as well as in German. It is used as a case suffix for the Russian locative and mostly used together with a preposition with the meaning of 'place' like *in vinotsinske.* The grammatical suffix *-e* has a plural function for several German noun classes as well, and it is also a gender marker for German feminine nouns. This could be a reason why the suffix *-e* is used so frequently in the

Krasnoyarsk corpus. Its idiosyncrasy in both underlying languages turns it into a frequently used grammatical morpheme.

4.3 Word Order

As we have seen, Russian has invaded the German variety on a massive scale. However, code switching seems to be a deeply embedded phenomenon than the most obvious use of foreign words and phrases in spoken language. It is a complex language contact phenomenon with characteristic occurrences on the morphological, syntactical, lexical and discourse structure level. While lexical and morphological code switching is noticeably easier, the syntactic and discourse structure are much more intricate contact phenomena. Besides, all of the four female speakers were not aware of the several types of code switching, whereas a listener without Russian language skills might have had some difficulties in following the Russian German conversation.

Finally, I want to introduce some syntactic language contact phenomena from the Krasnoyarsk corpus.

(5) emma, ich bin gebore in *engels* wol-, an der wolga. Unne
Emma I am born in Engels Vol- and at the Volga. And

nach *sibirje* komme bin ich komme, war ich acht jahre unne
to *sibirje* (*Siberia*, sg.-locative, geogr. name) am I came was I eight years and

haben wir gewohnt in *vinotsinske*. In *vinotsinske* haben wir gewohnt neun monat. *A*
have we lived in *vinotsinske* (sg.-locative, geogr. name). In *vinotsinske* (sg.-locative, geogr. name) have we lived nine months. *A* (*but*, conversation particle)

haben - *potom* sind wir nach nen *sever* mit de ganze familie, *kak* in der *trudarmee*.
have – *potom* (*then*, adv.) are we to a *sever* (*the north*, sg.-nom.-masc.) with the hole family, *kak* (*like*, adv.) in the *trudarmee* (*labour army*, sg.-nom.-fem., Russian-German mixed noun).

The discourse sequence (5) contains a range of bi-linguistic data like code switching of Russian nouns (*sibirje, vinotsinske, trudarmee*), discourse particle and adverbs (*a, potom, kak*). Further, we find finite verb forms in sentences, which have with one exception (*haben*

wir gewohnt in vinotsinske, verb-initial order) a verb-second structure. In German, the word order in declarative sentences varies depending on whether the sentence is a main clause or a subordinate clause. Whereas the finite verb position in main clauses seems to be verb-second and therefore a typical Germanic sentence structure, the basic order in embedded clauses is SOV.[24]

However, it has been realised that especially in spoken language, the place behind the non-finite verb ('extraposition') can be occupied not only by heavy constituents like complement clauses but by noun phrases, preposition phrases or other single word constituents. The 'postfield' is supposed to be optional.[25] New research shows slightly different results – the German 'postfield' is much more occupied than standard grammars claim. This is the fact not only for spoken but for written language, too. These so-called *rechtsverschobenen* ('extra posed') constituents mostly cannot move to the middle field within the German *Satzklammer* ('sentence bracket').[26] The author has earlier investigated non-clause constituents in 'extrapositions' from a larger dialogue corpus of spoken German.[27] The results indicate not only a high rate of different syntactic constituents in the 'postfield' but also a variation of their functional markedness. Here, word order in spoken German and in the German variety of Krasnoyarsk seems to operate in a similar manner: the 'postfield' is mostly occupied by a constituent like in (6 i-iii).

(6) (i) ich bin gebore <u>in *engels*</u>
(ii) in *vinotsinske* haben wir gewohnt <u>neun monat</u>
(iii) na wo die großmutter war <u>auch</u>

In the examples (6 i-iii), we can observe different levels of syntactic markedness. Whereas the adverbials *in engels* and *neun monat* are unmarked or less unmarked in spoken discourse (but marked in written Standard German) and in the German variety of Krasnoyarsk as well, the word order in (6 iii) is only possible in this German variety. The particle *auch* in the 'post

[24] Cf. Ekkehard König, Volker Gast: *Understanding English-German Contrasts*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2009, p. 164-167.
[25] Cf. Gisela Zifonun, Ludger Hoffmann, Bruno Strecker et al: *Grammatik der deutschen Sprache*. Band 1-3. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997, p.1502.
[26] Cf. Martine Dalmas (2009): 'Richtiges Deutsch – richtig deutsch? Normativität in französischer und deutscher Grammatik'. In: Marek Konopka, Bruno Strecker (eds.), *Deutsche Grammatik – Regeln, Normen, Sprachgebrauch*. Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Jahrbuch 2008. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009, p. 355-378.
[27] Cf. Christiane Andersen: Wortfolge im gesprochenen Deutsch. Markiertheit vs. Unmarkiertheit als Kriterien der Nachfeldbesetzung aus kontrastiver Perspektive. In: *Zielsprache Deutsch*. Zeitschrift für Unterrichtsmethodik und angewandte Sprachwissenschaft 1/2012, p. 35-58.

field' position could not be found in the earlier investigated spoken German corpora of monolingual dialogues.[28] Here, the specific research question is, what are possible word order patterns when German and Russian come together in the language contact situation described above? I argue that this is the specific syntax of this German variety and this syntax in contact differs from contemporary spoken German. However, word order phenomena seem to participate in structuring intra-sentence code switching.

5. Conclusion – the status of German in East Siberia

Summarising the observations on the corpus and including the sociolinguistic background, we can conclude that the four speakers do speak a non-standard German with strong influences from non-standard Russian on the lexical as well as the morphosyntactic and discourse-pragmatic level. I could find language contact phenomena affecting Russian in all dialogues. However, these phenomena differ from speaker to speaker. It can therefore be argued that new speech patterns have emerged, but these patterns are not stabilised enough. One example can be the usage of the conversation particle *nu* (Russ.) and *nun* (Germ.) and related word order structures in several conversation units. It seems that one language contact phenomenon can trigger another change of speech units. In addition, these changes do not appear sufficiently regularly but are more regular for each individual speaker.

All our respondents were confident in their opinion that they speak *daitsch* (German). Otherwise, it is not easy even for linguists to consider the language status of Russian German. Aitchinson names the dilemma clearly: "Discussions of language status mostly assume that there is a sliding scale with standardized national languages at one end, and non-standardized minority linguistic systems at the other. Unfortunately, this simple picture often breaks down when the situation is examined more closely."[29] None of the common sociolinguistic terms such as *jargon, pidgin, creole, creolid*, and *koine* are suitable for describing the language of our four female speakers.[30] At the present stage of the investigation, I presume that we are dealing with a German variety with several (unstable) language contact phenomena of Russian.

[28] Cf. Andersen: Wortfolge im gesprochenen Deutsch, p. 50.
[29] Jean Aitchinson: 'Assessing Language Status: Some Problems'. In: Ulrich Ammon, Marlis Hellinger: *Status Change of Languages*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1992, p. 437-495, p. 487.
[30] Cf. Aitchinson: Assessing Language Status, p. 491.